1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

the two reserves on Wale, Nim belonging to Yato and Uta belonging to Loto, once marked by encircling walls of coral.

The wall (*pa*) surrounding the three land boundaries of Uta (the fourth boundary being the outer beach) was made of slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge, and served not so much to bar entry as to mark off taps land from land over which all might walk. Those having legitimate business in the reserve were supposed to enter through one of the three gates or breaks in the wall; one (*te pa i te utu*) near the present residency, the second (*te pa i Motala*) at the site of the present watch house at Matala, the third (*te pa i te tuborga uta*) on the western side.

The stone wall round Nim ran from the head of the western indentation of the lagoon, the present fish pond, northward to the outer beach. There were two gates through this wall, one (*te kauri ulo hi tai*) at the lagoon end of the wall, and the other (*te kauri tua hi tua*) at the outer beach end of the wall. In some symbolism that informants could not clearly remember the lagoon end is called "the belly of the *kauri* (a strong ferocious fish) by the sea", the outer beach end "the back of the *kauri* by the outer beach."

The stone from both walls was freely used to build coral lime houses in the days of the early missionaries.

VILLAGE GUARDS

Village control over reserve food lands was implemented by tapus enforced by supernormal powers of village gods and by a guard of men called *pule*; these tapus were directed against outside villagers all the time and were lifted against home villagers only when it was decided by village council to take food from the reserves. When the tapu was raised the guard or all the people of the village were allowed to go to the reserve to collect a fixed amount of food. Visits to the reserve at other times for the purpose of cultivating taio beds were always by permission of the guard. The gods of each village interested in preserving the reserve from thieves sent sickness and other punishments to those who violated the sanctity of the reserve (p. 312).

Both Yato and Loto villages have a well-organized guard which watches the reserves on Wale throughout the year. Ngake, with no reserve on Wale, does not have an organized guard system. Individual villagers, often older men who are not tied down each day with food-procuring duties, are delegated to watch the reef between Wale and Motu Ko and to examine wayfarers along this reef coming from the direction of Motu Ko to see that they are not smuggling stolen foods into Wale. These single guards also watch canoes on the lagoon coming from the direction of Motu Ko. All Ngake canoes are required to beach at Waleton, where they are examined for contraband articles by older men living at this place before being allowed to land their canoes elsewhere.

In Loto and Yato, all men who have reached sociological adulthood are drafted for guard duty. In Loto there are about 30 men able to serve as guards. Each guard is composed of about 25 men, serving for one month. Formerly only men served on Loto guard, but in recent years, when it was

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625 thought that the men's guard was consuming privately from the reserve
562 more food than it was preserving, the old men of Loto arranged that the men should serve for six months only, and that adult women should serve as guards for six months of the year. The rationalization was that the women would not be so expert at climbing nut trees as the men, and that they could devote spare time to taro cultivation. Hence in Loto today, the men's guard serves from January through June, each man acting for three months each year; the women's guard, two groups of 30 women each, serves from July through December, each woman also acting for three months each year. The Yato guard consists of men only, about 25 men for each guard. With 30 men in Yato village, each man serves for six months each year, usually in alternate months.

625 Six watch houses (*nuku paienga*) are scattered through the reserve of
561 Uta. The guard is divided into six groups (*taka*); a group of four men or women watches from each house for one month, then moves in rotation
226 to the next house, shifting houses thus each month. The single watch house in Nina at the head of the fish pond, the site of the former lagoon gate to the reserve, is used by the Yato guard as its headquarters.

There is a tendency in Loto to group the members of each guard according to age grades. Thus one guard will comprise the oldest men, the following one middle-aged men, and so on.

Much friendly rivalry exists between successive companies of guards. In Yato, at the end of every month, the guard fishes in the pond for the benefit of the entire village and much is made of the fact if one company catches more mullet than the preceding company.

625 The monthly guard change (*te wiuga pale*) is accompanied by a division
241 of food from the reserves among the people of the village.

262 In Loto a division of drinking and eating nuts is made. In Yato nuts and, in season, papaya and limes procured from Motu Kotawa by guards who make a special trip to obtain the fruit are divided. The guards under the supervision of older men gather the nuts from Nina and Uta. The change of guard in Nina on January 9, 1938, was marked by the following typical food division: each man, woman, and child on the village rolls received two drinking nuts; the 48 women of Yato received papaya at the rate of one for every three women; 70 children received papaya at the rate of one for every four children. At other times, the division included men and not women, or men and women and not children. The conclusion of the month's guarding is accompanied also by a small division among the guard of fish caught by delegated members of the group and of taro foods prepared by their wives and relatives.

625 The duties of the guard are to patrol the reserve throughout the day
245 and keep away thieves; to preserve the nuts, pandanus trees, and other
244 flora of the reserve from depredations; to keep wandering pigs and chickens from destroying the taro beds. They put tapus (*kaui*) on young nut trees by tying coconut midribs round the boles of the trees. Formerly the break-
694 ing of such a tapu was punished by the gods of the reserve; today a thief

625/317 is known by the way in which the fish is disturbed. In Loto the men sit in the guard houses where they command a wide view of the reserve and indulge in craft activities, gossip, drink, and eat nuts. The women guards plait mats, 694 cook taio meals, eat nuts, and amuse themselves as they wish. The Yato 203 men wander about the reserve, play games, and fill in the rest of the day with eating and sleeping. Three nights each week, usually after dark, the guard passes along the village road and reports to the village on the state of the reserve. One man is chosen to make the report (*tauanga*). In a loud voice, he mentions the amount of thieving that the guard has noticed, the name of the culprits, if known, the fines to be levied; he warns the people to respect the reserve, not to go there to collect nuts, pandanus leaves, or firewood, until such visits are authorized by the village. When the report [693] is finished, the guard members break into a chant, either an old chant or a new one that they have composed and practised during the day. This finished, the guards move to another place in the village and repeat the report. A typical report made by the Yato guard on a day when no stealing has been detected is:

> Whakarongonga mai koina' o tauā' kia kī ai tauanga a te pako ko enata kī a koina ia. I a koina, ave taku koina i a koina nana ia whakakakala ana i te nuts. Ko pakoa nana i kata, o vaji koe, ngakongkongo. Ko i ai au atatai ia te tauanga ia kaupi koina nikiga. Whakarongonga koina whakakīkī. Ko te tauanga ia au atatai ai kī a koina. Tangi ai koe ia te nuts ia.
>
> Listen you of our village to the report of the guard to be made to you. You, don't let your children wander about in the reserve. If we catch (them) within (the reserve), we shall whip them to pieces. Therefore we have brought the report, so that your ears may hear. Obey you well. That is the report we have brought to you. Let the birds now sing. (A chant follows.)

685 694 577 People who have been detected stealing are required to pay fines to the guard, either in nuts or in mats or other craft objects. The amount of the fine depends on the amount of goods stolen. Once a culprit is detected, all will see to it that the guard, even when from another village, is supported in its efforts to collect fines. Though all believe that stealing from the reserve is immoral, few Pukapukans are above helping themselves to nuts in secret.

628 241 487 In the village of Yato where there are outside reserves to control, guards watch all canoes coming from Motu Kotawa. These must land at a special section of beach for inspection. When guards come back from Motu Kotawa with fruits for the monthly division, other guards, who have remained on Wale, help to carry the fruits to the place of division and are careful to look over the canoes scrupulously for concealed foods. When the women of Yato are sent to the reserves to cut *hutuma* fern to use as fertilizer for village taro beds, each returning canoe is carefully inspected by guards who

195 [illegible]

1:Boeglehole and Boeglehole E-S (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

125 241 [189] poke about under the piles of fern and look like the owners of the canoes. The women are given permission to bring back a few nuts for their own households. All the nuts in the canoes are removed to the beach by the guard, counted out one by one, and (nowadays) the total written down on paper. Once when the guards doing this were two youths who had just attained adulthood (*tuketuke*), it was amusing to see the way they officiously examined the canoes of two elderly men who had gone to Motu Kotawa with the women. The older men, though obviously annoyed with the inquisition, did not dare to make any comment. It is only after the canoes have been given a clearance at this beach that they are allowed to proceed to another beach, nearest to the talo beds, to unload the cargoes of fern leaves.

625 291 203 When a village meeting decides that the villagers shall go to the reserve Ko or Kotawa, for a period to work the talo beds or to procure nuts, the matter is announced to the village by the guard, because it is the guard that oversees this visit and makes sure that none brings from the reserves more than the agreed amount of foods. A typical announcement of this nature, made in Ngake, which has extensive talo beds on Motu Ko, is:

Wakinongakonga mai kokou ki te rongo ko aronia ki te tuna kiko. Ko wa kai tuna ki te moto. Ko tuna mea ko mamai: E takiyuna te nio papaku, e takiyapakapaka te nio. Ko tai tuna a te tiaki ko mamai: E takiwhawhaki te vave. E takiyapakapaka te tamaliki. Ko wa tuna ki te moto mai, e ya te kavea, e ya te ngangau, e ya te kiriki, e ya te kakai ika, e ya te kapi, e ya te kaipuri, e ya te angai, e ya te vaki, e ya te ngangaki. Ko te vai mea ka e makayakia i te tuna moto. Ko mea tuna i ai e mia pa, waimamai kia tuna. Oki ai.

Listen you to the report to be given to our village. We shall go to the reserve. These are our things we shall bring back: so coconuts mea each, so drinking nuts each. Note the things of the women which they will get: one sheave of taro each. For each child, so drinking nuts. When we go to the reserve, the crabs (*manauriui*) and the birds (*manauri*), bananas, and spangle weed will be taken. These are the things to be taken to our reserve. We shall stay there for seven nights, then return. That is all.

Throughout the day on the reserve, the guard reports each night the events of the day, makes sure by inspection visits during the day that the taro foods are not being smuggled, and when the time comes to return, goes from house to house, counting the nuts piled up ready for the return trip.

226 223 Visits to the reserve of Ngake were formerly made on such occasions as follows:

623 745 685 622 At times fixed by the chief of Ngake and the council of men, all the men would go to Motu Ko to collect nuts and to fish. Young men wishing to go to the reserve at other times to get birds or for whatever purpose, had to procure permission previous to the visit. At one time, it was customary for parties of three or four men to be given permission to fish from the outer reefs of the reserve. Permission was granted for a three days' stay only, and if the men stayed longer than this period, they were automatically considered thieves and treated as such on their return. At other times, at a meeting of the chiefs of the island, men of the other two villages were given permission by Ngake to go to Motu Ko for a set period in order to fish from the reefs

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

This was a return for courtesies rendered to Ngake men by the other villages, particularly deep-sea fishing privileges off the western reefs of Yato.

That the reserves are well guarded is evident from two incidents:

In walks over the island with Yato informants, amusement was always expressed in their faces when I casually proposed taking a short cut to our objective across the reserve of Loto. Even though I thought that my presence was sufficient evidence that my informants were not likely to steal nuts or take from the reserve, informants never set foot on the reserve without finding the nearest guards and informing them that their visit to the reserve was in my company only, and not for illegal purposes.

On one occasion we were taken to Motu Ko in a Yato canoe. The Yato men took the opportunity to inspect the reserve thoroughly before going on to Motu Kotawa. This was the first time that some of them had set foot on Motu Ko. Ngake friends were continually urging us to pay a visit to Motu Kotawa that they might visit Yato's reserve in canoe crew. When we finally went to Motu Kotawa, Ngake men launched the largest canoe available, and there was keen competition for the privilege of being one of the crew. Even old men, almost incapacitated through age, made a point of being fetchers crew members on this day, and during our few hours' visit on the islet, the Ngake men inspected every nook and cranny of the reserve, appraising the amount of nuts on the trees and the number of roosting birds with critical eyes. The results of the survey proved a topic of excited conversation for many days thereafter.

The villages have retained exclusive control over village reserve lands throughout Pukapukan history. At one period, however, in the reigns of the two chiefs after the seismic wave, the system of village control was temporarily in abeyance. In order to prevent widespread stealing, the law of *pule pae* was decreed whereby the guards had the power to kill by strangulation or drowning anyone caught stealing food from the reserves. Though centralised in one locality at this time, the villages still retained separate identities. Each village unit furnished a guard for the reserves. According to the severity or laxity by which these guard units enforced the law they were named: Te Pule-Wale-o-Yila-Wua (Pandanus-that-glitters-only), the guard of Ngake; Te Pule Tuli (the Tuli bird guard, or the guard that chases), the guard of Loto; Te Pule-Wale-Matgao (the Guard-of-bitter-pandanus), the guard of Yato.

The guard of Ngake was kind-hearted because the people of Ngake had opposed the passage of the law of *pule pae;* this guard allowed thieves to escape from the reserve, thus earning the name of pandanus that glitters *only* but does not sting or catch people with the thorns of the leaves. The guard of Loto carried out the letter of the law, and allowed none to escape; they caught people as the *tuli* bird is caught in a trap. The guard of Yato was also strict, as they were named after pandanus that catches people with the thorns of the leaves. It is said that if the Ngake guard saw a man carrying of the boundaries of the reserve, they told him to hurry inside, take what food he could, and hurry away while they turned their backs on the infraction of the law; that the Yato guard killed law breakers at once; and that the Loto guard killed them on the next day.

Besides accounting for the law breakers, the guard collected nuts and baked fei for food to divide among all the people. This was done by the guards stationed on Wale, on Motu Ko, and on Motu Kotawa. Other members went through the villages each day to see that everyone was accounted for. These missing had to prove that they were

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

not illegally fishing and that they were not stealing from the reserves. Incidents of this period are told in the stories of Tuiva and Kapuia, and in the story of the *pahi toa* (pp. 287, 295).

Numerous references in the stories and traditions of the island show that stealing from the reserves was an ever-present problem that challenged both supernatural and secular supervision of these reserved areas. The only major sin in Pukapukan society seems to have been stealing from the reserves; beside this, all other types of antisocial conduct become mere peccadillos. Where the law breaker meekly accepted punishment, secular or supernatural, all was well, but a thief surprised by a guard and resisting arrest either in shame or in desperation might be killed outright in the succeeding brawl. Several ancient graves on Motu Ko are still pointed out as the graves of thieves who were surprised on the reserve and killed.

TALO BEDS

The center of the reserve of Uta is a communal talo bed controlled by the village of Loto (pl. 1,*B*). This large area is subdivided into 11 smaller areas (*ni lalu*), named after nine land divisions in the reserve. There are four similar *ni lalu* in the reserve of Nitu. The people of Ngake have more than 15 large talo cultivations on Motu Ko.

Tradition states that the main talo beds on Wale were formed originally by Tupuevaka, son of the god Metelliki. Tupuevaka became troubled in his heart at the murmur of gods who were taking up residence on Pukapuka. He wished to be separated from the gods, so he stood at Te Auau, the northern point of Wale, and struck his foot in the sand. This made a big separation or channel in the land from Te Auau to the pond, Te Vaimoe, in Ngake village, and thence to the sea. As this follows the line of the present talo beds, it is common to refer to these beds as Te Akaupe-vae (Striking-of-the-foot). Metelliki with his wife and the gods lived on the western side of the division, *te uoli uvuna*, so called because it faced the setting sun, while Tupuevaka and his sister, Te Matakiaa, lived on the eastern side, *te matoa uvuna*. As the island became more populated, this natural excavation, widened and deepened in places, was used for talo beds.

It is probable that the first migrants to the atoll found natural hollows in the land, caused by wave action when the atoll was being built up above sea level, and used these hollows as the basis for the talo beds. Successive generations continued the work of excavation, no light task with coconut shells, coconut baskets, and digging sticks as the only implements. Subsurface water seeped in and rain water helped to rot the artificial fill of dried coconut midribs, *hotowa* ferns, and other plant material into a humus soil, which became in time excellent soil for talo cultivation. The results of the excavations are seen in the raised embankments (*tua motu* or *tua ni*) which follow the line of the talo beds and divide one bed from the next. That natural hollows were first used as beds is indicated by hillocks about 40 feet high running beside some beds. It is impossible to imagine that

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these hillocks were raised as the result of human excavations with such primitive implements.

Traditions state that the talo beds on Motu Ko were started by the migrants from the legendary land, Yayake, and were continued later by the Pukapukans after the people of Yayake were all killed. Both on Wale and on Motu Ko, excavations continue to this day. The beds that a man digs out are his own property during his life; on his death they are passed on down the paternal descent line. Picks and shovels borrowed from the resident agent help to render excavation today less laborious than it must have been in earlier times.

The village-controlled talo beds (*mota*) are separated into three divisions, one each for the men, women, and children of the village. Each year the number on the village rolls is altered through birth, death, the addition of those attaining sociological adulthood, and affiliation (*tau*) of new members; and a redivision is made of the beds of the members of each class on the village roll. The shares of dead adults are taken by new adults (*mahatoa* and *mahaamine*), whose shares in turn are given to new-born children. This redivision (*hotihotinga*) is made by a village meeting at the talo beds. All attend, even children, as a matter of course. The argument, discussion, and division are carried out by the guard and elders of the village; sitting on a near-by hillock, the others watch and assist with free advice and witticisms.

The new boundaries are marked by stones and coconut midrib butts. These soon fall down, but not before the new divisions have been memorized. The actual size of the village allotments varies somewhat from year to year, but in general a piece of land about 3 yards square is the average size of the division for man, woman, or child. Twice a year all the village women gather leaves and plants to fertilize the beds. Each adult cultivates his and his children's land how and when he pleases. The guards inspect the reserve land beds each month and fine each cultivator who has allowed his land to get weedy. The appropriate fine of three pennies or six mature coconuts is kept by the guards for their trouble in levying and collecting it.

The system is flexible and seems to work well. Each household receives an amount of talo land commensurate with its size. The system insures that none shall starve while others hoard up lands they cannot cultivate. Supervision by the guards keeps the land in good condition. The talo beds that a household derives from these village lands are supplemented by lands owned through lineage descent.

Paternal Lineage Property

Lands within village boundaries not controlled by the village unit are controlled by the paternal and maternal descent groups. On Wale, each paternal lineage (*ao*) controls a section of land (*henua*) of indeterminate

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476 226 Typical activities which involve complex combination of labor are bonito and flying-fish fishing, seine fishing, house building and thatching, canoe making, talo bed excavating, and today copra making. Bonito and flying fish may be fished by a small group of friends in one or two canoes, or else may involve village cooperation. Some men in each canoe are paddlers, others the netters or rod wielders. Women relatives provide the food for the crew. Seine fishing is carried out by groups of men, usually by a village group. When the net is used on the reef controlled by another village, however, men from this village also participate and share in the fish division. House building involves complex household or village cooperation, depending on the building constructed, whether for use as a private cook or sleep house or for a village meeting house or reserve land guard house (p. 76).

476 457 241 243 Canoe making is the work of an expert canoe builder and a number of assistants whom he directs. The group for whom the canoe is being built provides the food for the workers and makes the gifts that recompense the workers at the conclusion. Talo beds are excavated by men and women, the men doing the heavy digging, the women carrying away the sand and coral. Copra making is a village undertaking, involving both men and women. During the stay on the reserves, men and women collect and husk the nuts; older people and women split the nuts; men and women put them on the drying platforms; and children and old people later remove the copra from the shells. The men transport the copra to the villages and store it in village-constructed storage houses to await shipment.

476 421 625 Work is initiated by those who experience needs and require assistance to fulfill them. The needs may be biological, such as the need for food or shelter, or else social or ritual, as in the preparation for feasts, the building of village or religious houses, and village competitions. Village work is initiated by the informal village council, by inter-village discussions, or by household heads who anticipate the occurrence of large feasts. Specific works which involve the welfare of the village as a whole, such as copra making, the care of village talo beds, or preparations for village contests, are controlled by the guards (*pule*) acting as executive agents for the village. The work is so organized that all have specific tasks allotted to them. The guard sees that the work is carried out and is up to the required standard of efficiency. In work on the village copra storehouse for example, the guard arranges for some men to fish for the village workers and for the women to prepare talo to feed the workers; the older men so arrange the work that those best skilled for certain tasks are given the direction of these tasks and are adequately helped by less-skilled workers.

476 421 609 The native Pukapukan pattern functioned in typical fashion when the people made the collection of material culture objects presented to Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

a weakling, he asked a powerful friend to wrestle for him. If one woman slandered another, the injured party followed the other to the bush where she tried to beat her with a stick, or else fought her with her hands, trying to tear out her hair or otherwise pain her. Sometimes the injured woman tried to seduce the husband of the slanderer. If she succeeded, she publicly humiliated the slanderer by announcing that she had seduced the man, telling also the reason why.

Today, the Cook Islands Act has superseded old-time law. The talo beds and the reserves, however, are still administered by the guard, which levies fines on those caught stealing. One day during our stay, the women's guard from Loto came en masse to Yato and accused a Yato woman of stealing talo from Uta. The Yato woman confessed, and was immediately fined six *uto* nuts or three pennies. She handed over the nuts, and all were satisfied. In their report to the village each night, the guards mention the names of persons who have trespassed on reserve lands.

THE HOUSEHOLD

The native definition of a household is that group of people which use the same cook house. Three households (households 8, 44, 49) described by informants constitute variations on this pattern. (See table 5 and p. 249.)

The number of sleep houses all grouped together on the same lot and occupied by the same household unit depends on the size of the household. Where there are several sleep houses the parent or parents and unmarried children, blood or adopted, sleep in one house; a further grouping occurs in terms of relationship, age grades, and personal choice. A married son or daughter generally sleeps with his family in a separate house.

Composition

The relationships of the persons making up individual households studied is shown in table 5. The 54 households of Ngaiu and Yato give 38 distinct groupings of kin:

Ten households are composed of mother, father, and children. Seven households are composed of mother, father, and adopted children. Two households are composed of mother and children, mother in household 16 being a widow, and in household 41, a divorcée.

The biological family of mother, father, and children is the basis of the composition of 27 of the 54 households. In 13 households, mother, father, and adopted children is the basic unit. In only six households does the combination of father, mother, children, and adopted children occur.

Outside these groups, the most common household member is the son's wife. One son's wife and one daughter's husband (household 8) have, with their children, remained in residence with their father-in-law though their mates are deceased. It is further noteworthy that these two, the (deceased) son's wife and the (deceased) daughter's husband, are brother and sister. No explanation of their residence was given by infor-

244 when the first leaves are just opening.

241 Useful plants such as bananas, sugar cane, talo, niu [coconut tree], etc. should all be planted at the time of the new moon if they are to grow and produce well.

625 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 232--analyst.] Through
618 the idea of a women's pule [guard] is new, informants noted
621 that it was entirely consonant with Pukapukan patterns that the woman's pule should be organized on wua lines, all the Kati women serving at once, followd by the Lulu women. This would only include those members of the wua who were members of the village and hence represents village membership primarily, wua membership secondarily.

597 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 251--analyst.] It is
592 probably not an over exaggeration to say that there is not one household in Pukapuka which does not number among the children of the house at least one, if not more, tama kokoti, and at least one tama wangai, who may or may not later become a tama kokoti.

581 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 295--analyst.] One informant felt that obediance was probably the greatest virtue to be found in a woman, but man looks for sexual pleasure first of all. Then he looks for other virtues.

522 While the Pukapukan language lends itself easily to puns,
196 there is no such form of humor nor appreciation of it.

776 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 310--analyst.] When
245 the clusters of nuts were brought to the malae of food division,
771 one was chosen to take each cluster and shake it. All the
782 nuts that fell from the cluster were divided among the people. All that remained on the bunch were given to the god. The number to be left on the stem was preferably 1-4. If a man shook a bunch and more than 5 remained for the share of the god, this was considered too many, and this food divider was dismissed never to be chosen again. He was considered to be too partial to the god, and not partial enough to the people of the island. After all the clusters were shaken thus, the nuts for Tamayei were gathered together and taken to a back part of the bush, somewhere behind the site of the present church, and then laid on the ground. Here they are left to rot and it is presumed that the god feasts from the spiritual essence of the nuts.